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USIA-06 DHA-02 CU-02 EB-08 TRSE-00 OMB-01 AID-05 /097 W

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R 091415Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PGOV, PINS, MORG, MPOL, SF

SUBJ: BLACK ATTITUDES: THE POLITICS OF THE HOMELAND LEADERS

REF: 76 PRETORIA 5913

1. SUMMARY: THE CONCEPT OF HOMELANDS HAS ROOTS THAT ARE DEEPER THAN THE APARTHEID CONCEPT DEVELOPED BY THE AFRIKANER. ITS ORIGINS GO BACK TO THE NATIVE RESERVE SYSTEM INSTITUTED BY THE BRITISH OVER ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO. BLACK SOUTH AFRICA HAS REACTED IN A VARIETY OF WAYS TO THE HOMELAND CONCEPT, FROM CONDEMNATION TO ACCEPTANCE. A CERTAIN SEGMENT OF BLACKS

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HAVE CHOSEN TO SEEK THEIR POLITICAL FULFILLMENT THROUGH THE HOMELANDS. ALL OF THESE HAVE ACCEPTED SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THEORY, ALTHOUGH MOST DEMAND SAG CONCESSIONS AS PREREQUISITES TO INDEPENDENCE. THE LEADERS OF KWAZULU AND, TO A LESSER DEGREE, GAZANKULI, HAVE AT PRESENT REJECTED INDEPENDENCE. WITHIN HOMELANDS, BLACK REACTIONS HAVE BEEN MIXED ALSO, WITH SOME SUPPORT, SOME VOCAL AND VIOLENT OPPOSITION AND

A PREPONDERANCE OF APATHY. THE COMMON RATIONALE FOR ACCEPTING WORKING WITHIN MOST HOMELAND FRAMEWORKS IS THAT IT IS ONLY ALTERNATIVE OPEN TO ASSIST PEACEFULLY THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S BLACKS. END SUMMARY.

2. BACKGROUND: THE POLICY OF APARTHEID THAT HAS CULMINATED IN THE FORMULATION OF EIGHT SELF-GOVERNING AND ONE INDEPENDENT HOMELAND GREW OUT OF A LONG AND COMPLEX HISTORY OF RACIAL SEPARATION THAT BEGAN FORMALLY OVER ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AFRICAN RESERVES IN NATAL. THUS, DESPITE OBVIOUS DIFFERENCES IN BOTH IMPETUS FOR AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ORIGINAL RESERVE SYSTEM AND THE PRESENT HOMELANDS, THE PRESENT POLICY OF APARTHEID HAS CERTAIN CUMULATIVE CONTINUITY IN SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY. A NEWLY ELECTED NATIONALIST PARTY IN 1948 WOULD HAVE HAD A MUCH HARDER TIME IMPLEMENTING ITS POLICIES HAD NOT WHITE SOUTH AFRICA ALREADY BEEN CONDITIONED TO THINK THAT SEPARATE HOMELANDS WERE RELEVANT PARTS OF THE FLOW OF THEIR HISTORY. ACADEMIC ARGUMENTS ABOUND ON THE REASONS FOR RESERVES, BLACK RESIDENTIAL AREAS IN WHITE REGIONS TERMED "LOCATIONS" OR "TOWNSHIPS" AND NOW HOMELANDS. ORIGINALLY, RACIAL SEPARATION GREW OUT OF GENUINE FEAR OF THE BLACK MASSES, AS WELL AS A PERCEIVED NEED TO CONTROL THE LABOR SUPPLY IN RURAL AREAS; CONTROL TAX REVENUES FROM AFRICANS; AND CREATE A SUBSISTENCE BASE FOR AFRICANS BOTH TO OBIATE THEIR NEED TO BE PERMANENTLY IN WHITE AREAS AND TO CREATE A CLASS OF AFRICAN PRODUCERS. AS YEARS PASSED AND THE MINING INDUSTRY GREW ON THE RAND, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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REASONS FOR AFRICAN LOCATIONS TOOK ON MORE OF AN ECONOMIC FLAVOR. SEPARATION WITH LOCATION AND RESERVE SYSTEMS BECAME A SPECIFIC MECHANISM FOR GUARANTEEING A CHEAP AND CONTROLLED LABOR FORCE.

3. IT IS ONLY RELATIVELY RECENTLY THAT SAG HAS TAKEN THE

EVOLVING POLICY OF RACE SEPARATION A FURTHER STEP BY MOVING THESE AREAS TOWARD INDEPENDENCE. THE FRAMEWORK FOR HOMELANDS HAD LONG AGO BEEN CREATED WITH THE 1913 AND

1936 LAND ACTS, BUT IT WAS DOING THE 1950'S AND EARLY 1960'S THAT THE SAG FELT IT MUST REDEFINE APARTHEID IN A MORE "POSITIVE" SENSE, TO USE VERWOERD'S OWN WORDS. THE REASONS BEHIND THIS EXTENSION OF RACIAL SEPARATION TO THE POINT OF INDEPENDENCE FOR THE DIFFERENT "NATIONAL" GROUPS LIE IN THE NEED TO RATIONALIZE AND JUSTIFY A SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL

SYSTEM THAT WAS BASED ON RACE. THROUGH A SERIES OF LEGISLATIVE ACTS BEGINNING WITH THE BANTU AUTHORITIES ACT OF 1951, THROUGH THE BANTU EDUCATION ACT OF 1953, PROMOTION OF BANTU SELF-GOVERNMENT ACT OF 1959, TRANSKEI CONSTITUTION ACT OF 1963, BANTU HOMELANDS CONSTITUTION ACT OF 1971, AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE TRANSKEI IN OCTOBER 1976, THE CONCEPT OF INDEPENDENCE HAS EVOLVED TO THE POINT WHERE A SECOND HOMELAND, BOPHUTHATSWANA, IS TO BECOME INDEPENDENT IN DECEMBER, 1977, A THIRD, LEBOWA IN 1978, AND THE REMAINDER THEORETICALLY SLATED FOR EVENTUAL INDEPENDENCE.

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 -----091740Z 088108 /50

R 091415Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
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4. STRIPPED OF ALL THE EUPHEMISMS AND RATIONALIZATION, THE CONCEPT OF HOMELANDS IS DESIGNED TO PERPETUATE WHITE, AND PARTICULARLY AFRIKANER, SUPREMACY IN SOUTH AFRICA. AT THE TIME OF ITS DEVELOPMENT, A SECONDARY PURPOSE WAS TO MEET GROWING EXTERNAL CRITICISM OF SOUTH AFRICA. THE BEGINNINGS OF BLACK UNREST DURING THE 1950'S;

THE NEED TO JUSTIFY CONTINUED OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA;
THE PRESSURE OF EMERGING BLACK, INDEPENDENT AFRICA;
AND THE RISING BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS WITHIN SOUTHAFRICA,
ALL CONTRIBUTED TO THE NEED FOR THE SAG TO ATTEMPT TO
CAST ITS POLICIES IN MORE ACCEPTABLE TERMS. THUS,
APARTHEID BECOMES A POLICY OF GRANTING "SEPARATE DEVELOP-
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MENT" AND "SEPARATE FREEDOMS" RATHER THAN ONE OF
WHITE SUPREMACY.

5. BLACK ATTITUDES: BLACKS WERE NEVER CONSULTED
DURING THE EVOLUTION OF THE HOMELANDS POLICY. DURING
THE DEBATES ON THE BANTU SELF-GOVERNMENT ACT IN 1959,
VERWOERD DISMISSED THE NEED TO CONSULT BY SAYING THAT
HE KNEW WHICH "TYPE OF NATIVE" WAS FOR IT AND WHICH WAS
AGAINST, AND THAT THE MASS OF AFRICANS WERE "NOT ABLE TO
DECIDE ON A MATTER OF THIS NATURE." EVEN THOUGH CERTAIN
OF THE HOMELANDS, IN PARTICULAR THE TRANSKEI AND KWAZULU
HAVE SOME CLAIM TO A HISTORICAL BASE, THERE HAVE BEEN
STRONG BLACK VOICES OF DISAGREEMENT THROUGHOUT THE
DEVELOPMENT OF THE HOMELAND THEORY AND LEGISLATION.
URBAN BLACKS, PARTICULARLY THE YOUTH, HAVE LONG CONDEMNED
THE THEORY AND NOW, WITH THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE
TRANSKEI A FACT AND THAT OF OTHERS ON THE HORIZON, THE
CONDEMNATION HAS CRESCENDOED AS THE URBAN DWELLER FINDS
HIMSELF FORCED TOWARD CITIZENSHIP IN A "HOMELAND" HE HAS
NEVER KNOWN. WITHIN THE HOMELANDS, ARTICULATE
OPPONENTS OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT HAVE EXISTED FROM
AT LEAST AS EARLY AS THE INSTITUTION OF SELF-
GOVERNMENT IN THE TRANSKEI, WHERE CHIEF POTO AND HIS
FOLLOWERS OPPOSED KAISER MATANZIMA AND HIS ACCEPTANCE
OF THE POLICY FROM THE EARLY 1960'S. MOST HOMELANDS,
INCLUDING THE FLEDGLING SWAZI HOMELAND, HAVE
ACTIVE AND VOCAL OPPOSITION PARTIES, WHO FOR THE
MOST PART BASE THEIR OPPOSITION ON THEIR REJECTION
OF INDEPENDENCE. THE MAJORITY OF HOMELAND DWELLERS
LIVING A SUBSISTENCE RURAL EXISTENCE OR FILLING THE
RANKS OF MIGRANT LABOR, VIEW SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT
APATHETICALLY.

6. MOTIVATION OF HOMELAND LEADERS: GIVEN THE STRATEGY
OF THE SAG IN MOVING THE HOMELANDS TO INDEPENDENCE, THE
PLEDGE MADE JOINTLY BY ALL THE HOMELAND LEADERS IN
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JANUARY 1975 TO REJECT INDEPENDENCE UNLESS COMMONLY AGREED TO, AND THE SUBSEQUENT BREAKING OF THIS PLEDGE BY MANTANZIMA AND MANGOPE, IT IS DIFFICULT TO ARRIVE AT ANY SATISFACTORY EXPLANATION OF WHY SO MANY HOMELAND LEADERS PLAY THE GAME THE WAY THEY DO. AMONG THE INGREDIENTS OF AN EXPLANATION ARE THESE FACTORS: A DESIRE TO MAINTAIN THEIR POWER POSITION, VARYING DEGREES OF SELF-INTEREST WHICH THE SAG DOES NOT HESITATE TO PLAY, AND A SINCERE CONVICTION THAT THE BLACK MAN SHOULD TAKE SUCH OPPORTUNITIES AS PRESENT THEMSELVES TO PURSUE HIS ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS. EACH HOMELAND HAS UNIQUE PROBLEMS AND EACH LEADER VARIES HIS APPROACH TO HIS OWN PROBLEMS. EACH LEADER ALSO SEES THE GENERAL POLICY OF HOMELAND DEVELOPMENT AS SERVING DIFFERENT PURPOSES FOR HIM, HIS OWN ETHNIC GROUP AND THE BLACKS OF SOUTH AFRICA GENERALLY. IN SPEAKING TO HOMELAND LEADERS ONE FINDS THAT THEY ALL VOICE ONE EXPLANATION WHICH WAS RECENTLY SUCCINCTLY EXPRESSED BY CHIEF MINISTER MANGOPE, "WHAT ALTERNATIVES DO WE HAVE?"

7. THE POLICIES OF THE HOMELAND LEADERS: HOMELANDS POLICY (AS PERCEIVED FROM OUTSIDE) TIES THOSE WHO PARTICIPATE WITHIN IT TO ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRINCIPLE OF INDEPENDENCE. MOST HOMELANDS LEADERS DO ACCEPT THEIR EVENTUAL INDEPENDENCE, AT LEAST IN THEORY. ALL SEE THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF WORKING WITHIN THE HOMELAND FRAMEWORK AS THE BEST WAY TO WORK FOR THEIR PARTICULAR GOALS. ALL SEE DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR AREAS, WHETHER THEY LOOK FORWARD TO IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE OR NOT, AS A PRIORITY. THERE ARE, HOWEVER, GREAT DIFFERENCES IN GOALS AND APPROACHES.

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R 091415Z MAR 77
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A) KWAZULU: CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI IS THE MOST OUTSPOKEN HOMELAND LEADER. HE SEVERELY CRITICIZES THE SAG AND REJECTS INDEPENDENCE OF KWAZULU ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE ZULU NATION DESIRES TO BE PART OF GREATER SOUTH AFRICA AND ENJOY THE ECONOMIC BENEFITS OF A COUNTRY THEY, TOO, HELPED TO BUILD. BUTHELEZI, IN COMMON WITH HIS COLLEAGUES, TRIES TO EXTRACT AS MUCH AS HE CAN FROM THE SAG TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF HIS PEOPLE. AT THE SAME TIME HE TRIES TO USE THE HOMELAND BASE AS A SAFE PLATFORM FROM WHICH TO BUILD BROADER UNITY AMONG BLACKS ON A NATIONAL LEVEL, BOTH THROUGH HIS OWN ZULU-BASED INKATHA PARTY AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ESTABLISHMENT OF A BLACK UNITY FRONT (BUF). IN GENERAL, BUTHELEZI AND HIS ADHERENTS MAINTAIN THAT THE ORGANIZATION OF SUCH BLACK CONSTITUENCIES IS THE NECESSARY PREREQUISITE TO MASS ACTION AIMED AT DISMANTLING THE APARTHEID AND SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT SYSTEMS "FROM WITHIN." BUTHELEZI AND THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT HAVE ALSO TAKEN THE POSITION THAT, BESIDES, FULL CONSOLIDATION OF THE TRADITIONAL ZULU TERRITORY (TO INCLUDE INDUSTRIAL PORTIONS OF NATAL AND A PORT, RICHARDS BAY) MUST PRECEDE ANY CONSIDERATION OF KWAZULU "INDEPENDENCE." WHILE THIS MIGHT BE SEEN AS A STATEMENT OF CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH INDEPENDENCE WOULD BE ACCEPTED, THE REALITY IS THAT BUTHELEZI AND HIS SUPPORTERS REGARD THE CONSOLIDATION ISSUE ESSENTIALLY IN TERMS OF FORMING AN ECONOMICALLY VIABLE ZULU UNIT WITHIN AN EVENTUAL UNITARY SOUTH AFRICAN STATE. BUTHELEZI'S POLICIES AND ACTIVITIES ARE THE SUBJECT OF MORE DETAILED REPORTS IN THIS SERIES, I.E., DURBAN 30, DURBAN A-04 AND A-14.

B) GAZANKULU: PROFESSOR NTSANWISI IS THE SECOND MOST OUTSPOKEN AND CRITICAL OF THE HOMELAND LEADERS. HE, TOO, REJECTS INDEPENDENCE, SAYING "I AM NOT GOING

TO ABDICATE MY BACKGROUND AS A SOUTH AFRICAN." RATHER THAN A COMPLETE REJECTION ON PRINCIPLE, NTSANWISI TEMPERS IT WITH THE REASONING THAT HE REJECTS INDEPENDENCE BECAUSE IT WOULD CAUSE GAZANKULU TO "STAGNATE." NTSANWISI IS ALSO THE SECOND MOST ACTIVE LEADER ON A NATIONAL BASIS, HAVING BEEN INSTRUMENTAL IN CONVENING THE LEADERS "SUMMIT" CONFERENCE WITH PM VORSTER IN OCTOBER 1976 AND PARTICIPATING WITH BUTHELEZI IN THE EFFORT TO ESTABLISH THE BUF.

C) BOPHUTHATSWANA: AS LEADER OF THE NEXT INDEPENDENT HOMELAND, CHIEF MINISTER MANGOPE HAS FULLY ACCEPTED INDEPENDENCE. HE INSISTS THAT THE SAG MUST EVENTUALLY MEET CERTAIN LAND CONCESSIONS TO BOPHUTHATSWANA BUT DOES NOT SEE THAT AS PREREQUISITE FOR INDEPENDENCE. (SEE PRETORIA 0853.) MANGOPE SEES FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AS A KIND OF FEDERATION AND IMPLIES THAT HOMELAND SELF-GOVERNMENT AND INDEPENDENCE IS JUST A HOLDING OPERATION TO TRY TO GET THE BEST DEAL POSSIBLE FOR HIS PEOPLE WHILE WAITING FOR THE CHANGES HE BELIEVES WILL COME. MANGOPE THINKS THAT ONLY AS AN INDEPENDENT LEADER CAN HE INSIST ON A BETTER LIFE FOR HIS PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA. ONCE THEY ARE FOREIGN RESIDENTS IN THE REPUBLIC, THEN HE CAN INSIST ON THEM BEING TREATED AS SUCH.

D) LEBOWA: DR. PHATUDI SEEMS TO SHARE MANGOPE'S APPROACH TO ACCEPTANCE OF HOMELAND POLICIES, EXCEPT THAT HE IS ON RECORD AS INSISTING ON CERTAIN CONCESSIONS IN THE WAY OF LAND CONSOLIDATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT BEFORE HE CAN ACCEPT INDEPENDENCE. HE BELIEVES THAT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE HOMELANDS IS THE GREATEST PRIORITY AND IT IS ONLY WITHIN THIS SYSTEM THAT, AT PRESENT, "CHANGE CAN TAKE PLACE." THEORETICALLY HE ACCEPTS INDEPENDENCE BUT DOES NOT THINK THAT LEBOWA IS "READY." AS FOR THE 50 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION GROUPS ASSIGNED TO LEBOWA WHO ARE IN URBAN AREAS, PHATUDI SAYS THEY ARE THERE "FOR KEEPS." THE CRUX OF HIS APPROACH IS TO SEEK ASSISTANCE AND FULFILLMENT FOR THOSE PERSONS RESIDENT IN LEBOWA. UNLIKE BUTHELEZI, NTSANWISI AND EVEN MANGOPE, HE DOES NOT SEE THE HOMELAND AS A VEHICLE FROM WHICH TO FIGHT FOR RIGHTS OF ALL BLACKS. HE IS HAMPERED BY PROBLEMS OF INTERNAL POLITICAL OPPOSITION AND THIS MAY ACCOUNT FOR HIS MORE INTROSPECTIVE VIEW.

E) VENDA: CHIEF MPHEPHU SEEMS TO HAVE THEORETICALLY ACCEPTED SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT IN TOTO. HE DOES NOT CHALLENGE IT, BUT SPEAKS ONLY OF THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT THAT HE HOPES WILL FLOW TO HIS BARREN LAND. OUR ASSOCIATION WITH MPHEPHU LEADS US TO THE CONCLUSION THAT HE IS QUITE CONTENT TO PLAY THE HOMELAND GAME.

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F) CISKEI: AMONG THE HOMELAND LEADERS SEBE FACES
A UNIQUE PROBLEM. HE LEADS MEMBERS OF THE XHOSA TRIBE
LIVING SOUTH OF THE KEI RIVER WHILE MANTANZIMA IN THE
TRANSKEI GOVERNS THOSE LIVING TO THE NORTH.
MATANZIMA'S DECLARED AMBITION IS TO INCORPORATE THE CISKEI
INTO THE TRANSKEI IN ORDER TO BRING ALL XHOSAS INTO
ONE COUNTRY. CHIEF SEBE IS THEREFORE CONSTANTLY LOOKING
OVER HIS SHOULDER TO SEE WHAT PRETORIA AND UMTATA
MAY BE UP TO. HE DOES NOT AGREE WITH SEPARATE DEVELOP-
MENT BUT FOR LACK OF ANY OTHER ALTERNATIVE TRIES TO
GET AS MUCH OUT OF SAG AS POSSIBLE FOR HIS PEOPLE.
INTERESTED IN PRESERVING HIS POSITION HE CONDITIONS
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ACCEPTANCE OF INDEPENDENCE MORE ON DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE THAN TERRITORIAL CONSOLIDATION. OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS SEBE HAS VIGOROUSLY PURSUED DEVELOPMENTAL AID FROM ABROAD, PARTICULARLY THE U.S., AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE LITTLE HE GETS FROM THE SAG.

G) BASOTHO QWAQWA: CHIEF MOPELI HAS BEEN, ALONG WITH MPHEPHU, ONE OF THE MOST ACQUIESCENT LEADERS. THE MINISCULE SIZE OF QWAQWA (46,000 HECTARES; POPULATION 24,000 IN 1970) HAS SOMETHING TO DO WITH THIS. ANOTHER REASON IS PROBABLY THE FACT THAT HE FACES SUBSTANTIAL INTERNAL OPPOSITION AND IS BOTH PREOCCUPIED IN MAINTAINING HIS POSITION AND UNCERTAIN OF HIS POWER BASE. MOPELI HAS ACCEPTED INDEPENDENCE IN THEORY. HIS ONE ATTEMPT TO ASK FOR LAND CONCESSIONS IN MARCH 1976 MET WITH A FLAT REFUSAL BY PM VORSTER. MOPELI DID NOT PUBLICLY QUESTION THE SAG STAND.

H) SWAZI: SWAZI HOMELAND IS THE ONLY ONE WITHOUT AN APPOINTED CHIEF MINISTER, EXCEPT FOR THE PROPOSED NDEBELELAND. ITS INTERNAL POLITICAL DYNAMICS SEEM AT PRESENT TO TURN ON A POWER STRUGGLE AMONGST COMPETING GROUPS (SEE PRETORIA 0489). ALL GROUPS, HOWEVER, ACCEPT INDEPENDENCE. CRUX OF COMPETITION IS RELATIONSHIP OF INDEPENDENT HOMELAND TO SWAZILAND AND KING SOBHUZA.

8. CONCLUSION: THE POLITICS OF THE HOMELAND LEADERS IS BASED ON THEIR VIEW THAT THE SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT POLICY AFFORDS THE ONLY OPPORTUNITY TO PURSUE THEIR PERSONAL AND BROADER OBJECTIVES. THE FACT THAT THEY ARE POWERLESS TO CHANGE THE SYSTEM LEAVES THEM, EVEN THOUGH MANY EXPRESS A GREAT DISTASTE FOR IT, UNABLE TO REFUSE TO WORK WITHIN ITS FRAMEWORK WITHOUT SACRIFICING THEIR OWN LIMITED INFLUENCE AND PREROGATIVES. THE FACT THAT THE LEADERS ACCEPT THE POLICY, THAT URBAN BLACK CRITICS ARE UNABLE TO EFFECT CHANGE IN THE POLICY, AND THAT THE MAJORITY OF HOMELAND DWELLERS ARE APATHETIC LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TO POLITICS IN GENERAL MEANS THAT THE SAG POLICY OF MOVING HOMELANDS TOWARDS "INDEPENDENCE" WILL CONTINUE UNCHANGED WITH PERHAPS A STEPPING UP OF THE TIMETABLE IN THE FACE OF MOUNTING PRESSURE FOR MAJORITY RULE.

9. UNTESTED IN THIS WHOLE PROCESS ARE THE REAL DESIRES OF THE BLACK POPULATION: WOULD THEY PREFER TO REMAIN AN INTEGRAL PART OF A GREATER SOUTH AFRICA OR HIVE OFF INTO TRIBALLY-DEFINED INDEPENDENT STATES WITH A PRECARIOUS ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL BASE? THE BALKANIZATION OF SOUTH AFRICA IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN WHITE RULE OVER THE CENTERS OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE, AS WELL AS MINING AND AGRICULTURE, HARDLY SEEMS IN THEIR

INTEREST. IF THEY UNDERSTOOD THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE
POLICY OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT AND HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO
EXPRESS AN OPINION, IT IS HARD TO BELIEVE THAT THEY WOULD
OPT FOR ANYTHING BUT A GREATER SOUTH AFRICA IN WHICH
THEY WOULD HAVE THE SAME RIGHTS AS WHITES, SHARE EQUAL
OPPORTUNITIES, AND HAVE A MEANINGFUL VOICE IN SHAPING
PUBLIC POLICY. BOWDLER

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Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: APARTHEID, PUBLIC ATTITUDES, MINORITIES, SELFGOVERNMENT
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Disposition Approved on Date:
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Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
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From: PRETORIA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 PRETORIA 5913
Retention: 0
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Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3161805
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BLACK ATTITUDES: THE POLITICS OF THE HOMELAND LEADERS
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, MORG, MPOL, SF
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/f1585ebb-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
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Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009